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ABSTRACT

The hypotheses to be tested by this study were (1) that Negro youth are more positively oriented toward participation in military service than white youth and (2) that lower class youth with high aspirations are more positively oriented toward military service than other youth. Respondents were male high school sophomores from 3 schools located in rural Texas counties that could be labeled the "traditional South." Questionnaires were given to 98 Negro boys and to 120 white boys. Two stages of data analysis were involved; the first was a comparison of lower class youth with high and low level aspiration, while the second was a comparison of lower class high aspiration youth with youth of higher socioeconomic status. Chi square and "t" tests were used when appropriate to evaluate the probability of observed differences being explained by chance variation. Findings showed that no difference existed between the Negro and white respondents in the proportion desiring military service and that level of aspiration did not seem to influence military orientations of youth. The appendices include the questionnaire and a summary of the statistical data. (LS)

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ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF MILITARY SERVICE AS A VEHICLE FOR SOCIAL MOBILITY: A RACIAL COMPARISON OF RURAL YOUTH FROM ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED AREAS*

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THE PROBLEM

Introduction

It is a commonly held belief that disadvantaged youth are more positively inclined than others to enter military service because they perceive participation in the military as one of the relatively few alternative means for vertical mobility readily available to them.[1] The validity of this proposition can be questioned, since very little research has been reported on the aspirations and expectations of youth for military service. The broad objective of this paper is to investigate the nature of military orientations held by Negro and White teenage boys utilizing data from a recent study of youth from East Texas. This study was designed to investigate broadly the future status projections of low-income rural youth and included instruments to measure the following dimensions of orientation toward military service upon which this paper shall focus: aspiration for military service, expectation of military service, certainty of this expectation, and general attitude toward serving in the military.

Military service can improve general social rank in two ways: (1) as a permanent career involving advancement over time in the military rank structure, or (2) as a short-term commitment that provides training and socialization that can be used subsequently to seek entrance into and advancement in some other desired occupational career line. It is important to make this distinction because very few youth, even lower class and "minority" youth, indicate a military career as an ultimate occupational goal.[2] Previous analysis of long-term occupational goals of the youth to be considered here, indicate that less than ten percent of either Negro or white boys desired or expected military

careers.[3] Consequently, it seems reasonable to propose that if disadvantaged youth view military service as an opportunity for mobility, it is in terms of its value as an "educational" experience that will facilitate subsequent job and income attainments outside the military.

Fortunately, in designing the study mentioned above, we included indicators for military desire and expectation separate from those structured to elicit long-term occupational projections. This gave us the means to investigate the extent to which youth project themselves toward involvement in the military, even though it is not viewed as an ultimate job goal. Most past research of military projections has been limited to investigations of military service as an occupational goal alternative, as will be shown later.

Research Objectives

The proposition with which we opened the paper, disadvantaged youth perceive military service in a more favorable light than others, assumes that these youth maintain relatively high level aspirations for social mobility. Past research on occupational and educational goals, including previous analysis of data from the respondents to be considered here, indicates that most lower class youth do aspire to high levels of status attainment.[4] At the same time, this research indicates that substantial minorities of these youth have relatively low level aspirations. It seems logical to reason then, that it is not simply the impedements of lower class status (including being a Negro) that are critical in leading toward a positive evaluation of military service as a means to mobility. Rather, it is the combination of these restrictions and the desire for substantial status mobility. Therefore, we propose that boys, regardless of race, characterized by the combination of lower class status and high aspirations are more positively oriented toward serving in the military than others. It is our

intention in this paper to test this proposition.

In addition, as a preliminary objective, we intend to explore whether or not racial differences exist in the military orientation of rural youth, as has been suggested by several social scientists.

In summary, the analysis to be reported here was designed to test two general hypotheses involving differences in military orientations of youth, within the data available from our study of rural youth:

(1) That Negro youth are more positively oriented toward participation in military service than white youth.
(2) That lower class youth with high aspirations are more positively oriented toward military service than other youth.

However, before turning to our investigation, we would like to provide an assessment of relevant past research.

Review of Relevant Literature

Outside of the references to military service as an alternative occupational choice, little empirical evidence exists on military orientations of youth. As far as we can ascertain, no evidence exists to indicate clearly how rural and urban youth might differ in military orientations and only a few studies provide some sketchy data for rural youth. Several studies indicate that rather sizeable proportions of rural youth either desire or plan on military service after high school.[5] Also, Slocum and Garrett report on rather detailed types of military expectations from a recent Washington study of rural boys -- most boys had plans to enlist either after high school or college or to wait to be drafted.[6]

While several social scientists have asserted that Negro youth are likely to be favorably inclined toward participation in military service, little evidence is available to document this.[7] In reference to rural youth, one study of Florida high school seniors does provide such evidence for plans to enter military

service.[8] On the other hand, Shannon and his colleagues states that "...in 1960, Anglo males were more likely to have been in the military service than both Mexican-American and Negro males at the .001 level of significance."[9]

No past research could be located that examined military orientations of youth with different levels of aspiration by social class. Therefore, we searched for research relating these variables (level of aspiration and social class) separately to military orientation.

We located two reports relating SES to military orientation. A study of Bradley on "vocational preferences" of youth by social class indicated that lower classes desired military service more than higher classes, but the differences were small.[10] Another study of more use for our purposes, by James L. Lowe, asked the students "what they wanted to do and what they expected to do right after high school" rather than asking a direct question about their occupational aspirations.[11] Lowe reported that higher percentages of youth of all classes aspired to military service than Bradley reported. Lowe also reported that while relatively large proportions of his lower class respondents desired military service, none of them expected it.

No research literature could be located providing information relating level of aspiration (occupational or educational) to military orientation.[12]

RESEARCH OPERATIONS

Selection of Respondents

During the Spring of 1966, we interviewed all high school sophomores attending school in three all rural, non-metropolitan counties of East Texas. In addition to rurality, these counties were purposefully selected to provide study units composed of a disproportionately large number of Negroes and poor families.

The study counties are in an area characterized by social structures and values associated with a cultural configuration that might best be labeled the "traditional south". This is evidenced in the fact that at the time of the interviews (1966) only one of the 23 schools involved in the study had experienced more than "token" integration and most school units were very small, ranging in size from 30 to 300 students. In addition, it can be stated unequivocally that the Negro and white populations differed markedly in a number of ways all pointing to the fact that the Negro respondents suffer greater socio-economic disadvantage relative to their white counterparts.[13] This will be an important consideration for interpretation of the findings to be presented.

A questionnaire requiring from 35 minutes to an hour to complete was group administered in each school contacted. The respondents were assured of anonymity before starting on the questionnaire. No attempt was made to contact students enrolled in school but not present the day of the interview (8%) or persons of similar age but not enrolled in school. The data used in this analysis involve only the male portion of this study: 98 Negro boys and 120 white boys.[14]

Instruments and Measurements

The primary focus of this analysis is on military orientations of youth. We have measurements for aspirations for military service, type of military service expected, certainty of expectation, and general attitude toward military service. The original stimulus questions used to elicit responses for each of these orientation variables are provided in APPENDIX A. These instruments are described briefly below. Aspirations for military service was determined by simply asking the respondent whether or not he wanted "to go into military service."

Expectation of military service was obtained by asking the respondent to indicate which of a set of six alternative actions he expected to take relative to military service -- these ranged from "quit high school and enlist" to "get out of going some way or other." This was followed by a question asking the respondent to indicate how sure he was of doing what he expected by checking one of five alternatives ranging from "very sure" to "very uncertain". General "attitude toward military service" was measured through an index of responses indicating agreement or disagreement with five statements of positive or negative evaluation of military service (See APPENDIX B, Table 1). Detailed consideration of these measures will be provided as they are introduced in the analysis.

In testing the hypothesis that lower class youth with high level aspirations are more favorably inclined toward military service, two other variables enter into our analysis -- social class (SES) and level of aspiration. The indicator of social class used here was based on a hierarchal ordering of responses given to a question eliciting the "Major job held by the main breadwinner" of the respondent's home (See APPENDIX A). Responses to the question were originally coded into nine rank ordered categories ranging from "Professional, Technical" to "Unemployed", Table 1. Then the bottom three response categories -- "operative", "laborer", "unemployed" -- were collapsed into a more inclusive category labeled "Lower Class", Table 1. The racial inequality existing in this population is obvious in that 74% of the Negroes are judged lower class as compared with only 22% of the whites.

Level of aspiration is indicated here by a hierarchal measurement of responses to a stimulus question structured to elicit ultimate occupational goals (See APPENDIX A). These responses were originally classified according to an eight category scheme, Table 2. In accordance with normal practice in

Table 1. Job Held by Main Breadwinner in Families of East Texas Youth by Race

	Negro (N = 88)		White (N = 119)		Total (N = 207)	
	percent					
Professional, Technical	5		6		5	
Glamour (professional sports, etc.)	1		0		0	
Managerial, Official	0		20		12	
Farm Owner, Manager	8		17		13	
Clerical, Sales	4		7		6	
Skilled Worker	8		28		19	
Operative*	16		11		13	
Laborer*	42	(74)	8	(22)	23	(45)
Unemployed*	16		3		9	
Total	100		100		100	
No information	10		2		12	

$x^2 = 68.30$ df = 8 $P < .001$

* Collapsed to form "Lower Class" category.

Table 2. Occupational Aspiration Levels of East Texas Youth by Race

Occupational Aspiration	Negro (N = 97)		White (N = 120)	
	percent		percent	
High Professional*	7		12	
Low Professional*	26	(54)	31	(70)
Glamour*	16		11	
Managerial, Official*	5		16	
Clerical, Sales	10		3	
Skilled Worker	11		23	
Operative	18		3	
Laborer	7		1	
Total	100		100	
No Information	1		1	

$x^2 = 33.33$ df = 7 $P < .001$

* Collapsed to form "High Aspiration" category.

aspiration research, high prestige, white collar job categories (high professional, low professional, glamour, and managerial) were collapsed to form the more inclusive "high aspiration" class, Table 2. Again, it is obvious that racial differences exist in level of aspiration -- the white boys more frequently holding high goals.[15]

Design for Analysis

The analysis is structured into two parts in accordance with the two major purposes given previously. The first section consists of a racial comparison of respondents on each of the military orientation variables: aspiration, type of service expected, certainty of expectation, and attitude toward military service. The second section consists of analyses comparing the lower class -- high aspiration groups to others in reference to each of the military orientation variables being considered. This involves two stages of analysis:

(1) Comparison of Lower Class youth with high and low level aspiration.

(2) Comparison of Lower Class -- high aspiration youth with higher SES youth.

Chi Square and "t" tests were used when appropriate to evaluate the probability of observed differences being explained by chance variation.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS[16]

Racial Comparison on Military Orientations

It has been proposed that Negroes are more likely to be positively oriented toward military service than whites. We intend to evaluate the general validity of this proposition by determining whether or not racial differences exist for our respondents in reference to the military orientation variables that we have indicators for.

Our data indicate that no appreciable difference existed between our Negro

and white respondents in the proportion desiring military service, Table 3. Approximately two-thirds of each grouping indicate that they desired military service.

A comparison of Tables 3 and 4 clearly indicates that proportionately more youth of both racial groupings expect military service than desire it -- only 8 percent of the Negroes and 15 percent of the whites anticipate that they will "get out of going". Significant racial differences do exist in the type of military service expected by these rural youth. Although a small percentage, twice as many white youth anticipate complete avoidance of military service and twice as many white youth anticipate the minimal commitment of Reserve or National Guard status. At the same time, slightly fewer Negro youth intend to enlist, but many more of them than their white counterparts (59 percent vs. 34 percent) intend to take officer's training in college.

The nature of deflection from desires not to participate are shown in Table 5. Of those not desiring military service, relatively small proportions expect to satisfy this desire.

The majority of both Negro and white respondents indicate a feeling of uncertainty about the type of military status that they anticipate, Table 6. Beyond this general similarity, the white youth have a substantially greater tendency to be uncertain than the Negro youth.

A scale measuring positive attitude toward military service was developed from responses to five evaluative statements about military service. The potential range in scores was from 0 to 5, five indicating maximum positive orientation (See APPENDIX B, Table 1 for scoring procedure and distribution of racial grouping on individual items of the scale). White boys were found to have a slightly more positive orientation toward military service, Table 7. However, of much more

Table 3. East Texas Youths' Desire for Military Service by Race

Desire to Enter Military Service	Negro (N = 98)	White (N = 121)	Total (N = 219)
	percent		
Yes	63	60	61
No	37	40	39
Total	100	100	100

$x^2 = .32$ df = 1 $.50 < P < .70$

Table 4. Expectations for Military Service of East Texas Youth by Race

Military Expectation	Negro (N = 89)	White (N = 117)	Total (N = 206)
	percent		
Enlist	24	31	28
Officers' Training at College	59	34	45
Reserves or National Guard	9	20	15
Get out of going	8	15	12
Total	100	100	100
No information	9	4	13

$x^2 = 14.32$ df = 3 $.001 < P < .01$

Table 5. The Relationship of Type of Military Expectation to Desire for Military Service Among East Texas Youth by Race.

Military Expectation	Desire to Enter Military Service — Negro		White	
	Yes (N = 61)	No (N = 28)	Yes (N = 70)	No (N = 47)
	percent			
Enlist	30	11	40	17
Officers' Training at College	62	53	40	26
Reserves or National Guard	8	11	20	19
Get out of going	0	25	0	38
Total	100	100	100	100
No information	1	8	2	2

Table 6. Certainty Associated with Military Expectations of East Texas Youth by Race.

Degree of Certainty	Negro (N = 95)	White (N = 121)	Total (N = 216)
	percent		
Certain	49	36	42
Uncertain	51	64	58
Total	100	100	100
No Information	3	0	3

$x^2 = 3.75$ df = 1 $.05 < P < .10$

Table 7. Racial Comparison of East Texas Youth on Index Measure of "Attitude Toward Military Service".

Strength of Positive Attitude	Negro (N = 91)	White (N = 120)	Total (N = 211)
	percent		
0	1	1	1
1	7	3	5
2	14	8	10
3	24	19	21
4	36	38	38
5	18	31	25
Total	100	100	100
Mean	3.4	3.8	3.6
No Information	7	1	8

$x^2 = 7.77$ df = 5 $.10 < P < .20$

import is the fact that very few respondents of either race had strong negative attitudes toward military service and that a majority of both groups had a strong positive attitude.

In summary, our findings indicate that on the whole, our Negro and white rural boys are more alike than they are different in their orientations and projections for military service. They were similar in that most desired military service, most had a strong positive attitude toward it, almost all expected to be involved in some type of military status, and a majority were uncertain about their expected involvement. The major racial difference observed was in terms of the patterns of expectations of the two groups: Many more white youth anticipated either no military involvement or part-time commitment in Reserves, than did their Negro counterparts. We must conclude from our findings that Negro youth are not more positively oriented toward military service. On the other hand, they anticipate more active full-time involvement in the military and are more certain about their involvement than are white youth.

Lower Class Youth With High Aspirations

We hypothesized that lower class youth with high level aspirations would be more positively oriented toward military service than others. In order to control on social class, because it has been proposed that lower class youth are generally more positively inclined toward the military than those of higher class status, we developed a two stage test for our original hypothesis involving two sub-hypotheses as follows:

(1) Lower Class youth with high aspirations will be more positively oriented toward military service than other lower class youth.

(2) Lower Class youth with high aspirations will be more positively oriented toward military service than youth of higher class status.

We infer from these hypotheses that the low income-high aspiration grouping, regardless of race, will differ from other groupings in the following ways:

(1) More frequently desire military service

(2) Have a more positive general attitude toward military service

(3) More frequently expect military service

(4) Have a greater degree of certainty about their service expectation.

In the testing of these hypotheses, we were working with relatively small subgroupings of respondents (See Tables 8 and 10). Consequently, we were able to use simplified indicators for several of our military orientations variables. For instance, aspiration was indicated by "percent desiring military service", certainty of expectation was indicated by "percent certain", and attitude toward military service was indicated by a mean scale score. It was not possible to do this with the qualitatively different types of military service expected, so these comparisons are presented separately in Table 11.

Lower Class Youth: High vs. Low Aspirants

In regard to military desire, attitude toward service and certainty of expectation, it is obvious from an inspection of Table 8 that the observed differences between the lower class-high aspiration grouping and the low aspiration grouping are generally small and not statistically significant. The only possible exception to this general statement involves the difference in certainty of expectation among white boys, which appears substantial but is significant at only the .30 level. In addition, the patterns of military involvement expected are quite similar between the high and low aspiration groupings for both races, Table 11. Consequently, the hypothesis that lower class youth with high aspirations are more positively oriented toward military service is not supported. At the same time, it should be noted that, although

Table 8. Military Orientations of Lower Class Youth by Occupational Aspiration Level and Race.

Occupational Aspiration Level	Number of Respondents		Percent Desiring Military Service		Attitude Toward Military Service (Mean Score)		Percent Certain of Military Expectation	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
High	35	16	71	56	3.6	4.1	56	44
Low	30	11	67	55	3.4	3.5	48	18
Stat. Signif. at .05*			No	No	No	No	No	No

*Chi Square used in all cases except for "Mean Scores of Attitude Toward Military" in which case the "t" test for differences in means was used. In almost every case differences noted were not judged significant at levels below .50. See Appendix B, Table 13 for detailed results of statistical tests.

the differences are small, they are universally in the predicted direction.

It occurred to us that the inclusion of the aspirations for skilled blue-collar work and clerical and sales jobs in the "low aspiration" grouping might be reducing the magnitude of the observed differences. The reasoning here is that attainment of these types of jobs would represent upward mobility for lower class youth and certainly military service could be perceived as a training area for them. In order to explore this possibility, we sorted our lower class youth into seven relatively specific occupational aspiration categories and compared them on the military orientation variables. The results indicated that, contrary to our speculation, the skilled blue-collar aspirants seem to be less inclined toward the military than most others, Table 9.

Lower Class--High Aspirants vs. Higher SES

The results of the comparison between lower class youth having high aspirations with youth of higher class status were similar to those reported on the comparison between high and low aspirants of the lower class, Table 10. Differences in reference to military desire and attitude toward military service were slight and not statistically significant. Differences in reference to certainty of expectation were substantial and in the predicted direction but not significant statistically. In reference to patterns of expectations for military service, the two groupings' profiles were very similar among white boys, and slight differences in the predicted direction existed for Negro boys (more of the "higher SES" grouping expected either to "get out of going" or involvement in the Reserves), Table 11. Consequently, it must be concluded that the hypothesis that lower class youth with high aspirations would be more positively oriented toward military service than youth having higher class status is not supported. At the same time, differences noted on military orientation

Table 9. Military Orientations of Lower Class Youth by Type of Occupational Aspiration and Race

Type of Occupational Aspiration	Number of Respondents		Percent Desiring Military Service		Attitude Toward Military Service (Mean Score)		Percent Certain of Military Expectation	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Professional	22	12	77	58	3.6	4.2	64	42
Managerial	1	1	100	100	3.0	4.0	0	100
Glamour	12	3	58	33	3.6	4.0	45	33
Clerical & Sales	6	1	67	100	4.0	5.0	33	100
Skilled Worker	7	5	57	20	3.3	3.4	33	0
Unskilled Laborer	16	2	69	100	3.3	3.5	56	50
Farmer	1	3	100	67	4.0	5.0	100	0

Table 10. Military Orientations of Lower Class--High Aspiration Group Compared With Higher SES Groups.

Comparison Groups	Number of Respondents		Percent Desiring Military Service		Attitude Toward Military Service (Mean Score)		Percent Certain of Military Expectation	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Lower Class-High Aspir.	35	16	71	56	3.6	4.1	56	44
Higher SES Groups	23	92	61	60	3.2	3.8	35	38
Stat. Signif. at .05*			No	No	No	No	No	No

*Chi Square used in all cases except for "Mean Scores of Attitude Toward Military" in which case the "t" test for differences in means was used. In almost every case differences noted were not judged significant at levels below .50. See Appendix B, Table 13 for detailed results of statistical tests.

Table 11. Comparison of "Lower Class High Aspiration" Group with Others on Type of Military Service Expected.

Military Expectation	Lower Class High Aspirations		Lower Class Low Aspirations		Higher SES Groups	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
	percent					
Enlist	21	31	37	55	9	27
Officer's Training -- College	67	25	48	9	67	39
Reserves or National Guard	6	25	8	18	14	19
Get Out of Going	6	19	7	18	10	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

variables were consistently in the predicted direction, with the exception of military desire among white youth.

Educational Aspirations

Negative findings act as a spur to inquiry. It occurred to us that our indicator of aspirations level -- occupational goals -- might not reflect the differences that educational goals would. The reasoning here is that although occupation probably reflects desire for ultimate status attainment, in a normal means-end scheme, educational goals would be a closer approximation to what the respondent might be seeking through military service. We extended our analysis by following our original research design but replaced the occupational goal element with the educational goal element as our indicator for level of analysis. However, we drew a blank -- the results were essentially the same (see APPENDIX B, Tables 14 and 15). Lower class youth with high aspirations were consistently different from others in the predicted direction, but the differences were not substantial.

Discussion

Our findings bring into question the general validity of the belief that lower class youth are more positively inclined toward military service than others, including Negroes as compared with whites in the rural South. Likewise, our investigation does not offer support for the hypothesis that lower class youth with high aspirations for status attainment are more positively oriented toward military service than others. In addition, and perhaps helping to explain the negative findings discussed above, it is obvious that the rural respondents studied here were generally characterized by a very positive set of orientations toward service in the military.

Several additional inferences of some import can be derived from our findings that might serve as hypotheses for future research in this general problem area. The findings from our comparative analyses indicate that neither SES nor level of aspiration seem to influence military orientations of the youth.[17]

All of the conclusions and inferences mentioned above have to be considered in light of the limitations to scope of generalization imposed by the study population. The fact that these respondents were few in number and came from economically depressed rural areas in the South, characterized by high rates of out-migration, cautions against any attempt to generalize broadly. It is quite possible that different results might be observed among youth in metropolitan areas -- who would be more heterogeneous in reference to class and cultural background -- or among boys from relatively affluent rural areas. Obviously, these propositions point to possibilities for future research.

Also, it is possible that the age of the respondents -- high school sophomores -- influenced the nature of our observations. It may be that these boys, for the most part, were not close enough in time to the period of decision making regarding military service to have taken our stimulus questions seriously. If that is the case, investigations of older boys might reflect support for our hypotheses -- this seems a particularly fruitful question for future research.[18]

In addition, there is the question of the effects of broader historical events on the military orientations of these youth. It will be remembered that our data was gathered in 1966, prior to the widespread public clamour about the draft and participation in the Viet Nam War. These historical occurrences may have produced changes in the orientations toward military service held by youth.

Contrary to the direction of the alternative explanations offered above,

it is possible, as Merton has proposed for other types of status aspirations,[19] that projection of participation in military service and a positive orientation toward it approximates a cultural universal among boys in their middle teens, or did in 1966. Lack of relevant past research for comparison with our findings makes it impossible to evaluate this possibility.

It is our judgement that the homogenity of these youth, their location in depressed rural areas, offers the best alternative explanation for the failure of the findings to support our hypotheses. We know, from previous analysis of place of residence projections of the youth involved in this study, that most of them desired to move to urban places or near them.[20] It may be that they perceive "joining the service" as an easy way to make this critical status change -- a way to legitimize the rejection of their local communities and rural culture and to search for the means of gaining the high level achieved goals that they seek. Obviously, much future research will be required to determine whether or not this, or one of the other alternatives given, provides an explanation for the generally positive military orientations of these youth.

FOOTNOTES

1. See the following articles for agreements that Negro youth look to the military for status opportunity: A. Lee Coleman, "Occupational Educational and Residence Plans of Negro High School Seniors in Lexington and Fayette County Kentucky," The Journal of Negro Education, 29 (Winter, 1970), p. 78; and O. Uzell, "Occupational Aspirations of Negro Male High School Students," Sociology and Social Research, 45 (January, 1961), p. 203. Also, for evidence that military service is perceived more generally as an educational opportunity, see research reports cited in Footnote 12.

2. Ruth Byrns, "Relations of Vocational Choice to Mental Ability and Occupational Opportunity," The School Review, 47 (February, 1939), p. 103; James Cowhig, Jay Artis, J. Allan Beegle, and Harold Goldsmith, Orientations Toward Occupation and Residence: A Study of High School Seniors in Four Rural Counties of Michigan, (East Lansing: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Special Bulletin 428, 1960), pp. 26-28; Donald R. Kaldor, Eber Eldridge, Lee G. Burchinal and S. W. Arthur, Occupational Plans of Iowa Farm Boys, (Ames: Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin 508, September, 1962), p. 623; J. Kenneth Morland, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Mill and Town School Children in a Southern Community", Social Forces, 39 (December, 1960), p. 172; and Catherine Urell, "What Do They Want Out of Life: Some Goals and Values of Adolescents", Teacher's College Record, 61 (March, 1960), p. 319-320.

3. Bilquis A. Ameen, "Occupational Status Orientations and Perceptions of Opportunity: A Racial Comparison of Rural Youth from Depressed Areas", (unpublished Master of Science thesis, Texas A&M University, October, 1967), pp. 87-88.

4. William P. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth: Structured Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature (College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Technical Report 66-3, September, 1966); and William P. Kuvlesky and Nelson L. Jacob, Educational Status Projections of Rural Youth: Annotations of the Research Literature (College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Technical Report 68-3, October, 1968).

5. Walter L. Slocum and Gerald R. Garett, Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youth (Pullman: Washington State University, December, 1965), p. 6; and E. Grant Youmans, Shaw E. Grigsby and Helen Carawan King, After High School What: Highlights of a Study of Career Plans of Negro and White Rural Youth in Three Florida Counties (Gainesville: University of Florida, Cooperative Extension Service, 1965), p. 9.

6. Slocum and Garrett, APPENDIX B, Table 5.

7. Coleman, p. 75 and Uzell, p. 203.

8. Youmans, p. 9.

9. Lyle W. Shannon, Elaine Krass, Emily Meeks, and Patricia Morgan, The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers (Iowa City: The University of Iowa, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1966), p. 120.

10. William A. Bradley, Jr., "Correlates of Vocational Preferences", Genetic Psychology Monographs, 28 (November, 1943), p. 147.

11. James L. Lowe, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of High School Seniors: Part II", The Northwest Missouri State College Studies (Maryville: Northwest Missouri State College, November, 1963), pp. 5-7.

12. While no studies relating level of aspiration to military orientation were located, several studies did mention the use of military service as a means of advancing one's education. D. C. Andrew and Francis Stroup, "Plans of Arkansas High School Seniors", The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 39 (December, 1960), p. 300; J. Kenneth Morland, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Mill and Town School Children in a Southern Community", Social Forces, 39 (December, 1960), pp. 172-173; and J. G. Lussier, "Plans and Attitudes of High School Students", Study No. 4, Background Studies for Resource Development in the Tweed Forest District, Ontario, (Guelph, Ontario: Ontario Agricultural College, Department of Agricultural Economics, 1963), p. 15-16; and Slocum and Garrett, p. 5.

13. For detailed evidence backing up this assertion, see: William P. Kuvlesky and W. Kennedy Upham, "Social Ambitions of Teen-Age Boys Living in an Economically Depressed Area of the South: A Racial Comparison" (Presented at the annual Southern Sociological Society meetings, Atlanta, Georgia, March 30, 1967).

14. The original study population included 251 boys. In order to purify the ethnic comparison between Negroes and Whites, respondents indicating that they were American Indian (8) and Mexican American (23) were excluded from the analysis. In addition, one respondent not providing information on military orientations was dropped from consideration.

15. For detailed consideration of racial differences in occupational status projections among these respondents see: Ameen, p. 42.

16. Katheryn Thomas contributed importantly to this section of the paper. She worked up the tabular analyses and carried out the statistical evaluations.

17. This finding apparently conflicts with reports of other researchers: Bradley, p. 147 and Lowe pp. 5-7. However, differences reported by Bradley were small, which lends some support to our observation.

18. Previous research has indicated that desire for military service generally decreases with age: Bradley, p. 147; John T. Daily, "The Volunteer Availability of Manpower for Specialized Occupations and Careers" (paper presented

at the annual meetings of the American Psychological Association, New York, September, 1961), p. 15; M. E. John and Kathleen Moyer, Adolescents: Their Interests, Aspirations, and Models (University Part: Pennsylvania Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 695, 1962), p. 8; Slocum and Garett, APPENDIX B, Table 5; and O. E. Thompson, "What Are the Plans of Vocational Agriculture Students?", The Agricultural Education Magazine, 34 (June, 1962), pp. 276-277.

19. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 136-139.

20. William P. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, "Community of Residence Aspirations and Expectations of Rural Youth: Implications for Action" (Proceedings, Association of Southern Agricultural Workers Meeting, 1967).

APPENDIX A

Excerpts from the Research Instruments

Main Breadwinner's Occupation

54. (a) What is the major job held by the main breadwinner of your home? (Write your answer in the following box. Give a specific job, not the company or place worked for.)

ANSWER: [ ]

Occupational Aspiration

15. (a) If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most desire as a lifetime kind of work? (In answering this question give an exact job. For example, do not say "work on the railroad" but tell us what railroad job you would like to have.) Write your answer in the box below.

ANSWER: [ ]

Military Orientations

Aspirations for Military Service

27. Do you want to go into military service? (Circle one number.)

1 Yes 2 No

Expectations for Military Service

28. What do you expect to do about military service? (Circle one number.)

1 Quit high school and enlist.
2 Enlist right after high school.
3 Go to college and take officers' training.
4 Enlist in the Reserves or National Guard.
5 Not eligible -- I have a physical disability.
6 Get out of going some way or other.
7 I am a girl and do not plan to enlist.*

*Not utilized by males

Certainty of Expectation for Military Service

29. How sure are you that this is what you will do?

I am: (Circle one number.)

1	2	3	4	5
Very sure	Sure	Not very sure	Uncertain	Very uncertain

Attitude Toward Military Service

30. Tell me whether you agree with the following statements about entering military service. (Check one blank for each statement.)

Agree	Disagree		
_____	_____	1.	Every American male should want to serve in the military.
_____	_____	2.	Every able-bodied American male should enlist if the country is fighting a war.
_____	_____	3.	One should not complain if he is drafted.
_____	_____	4.	One can do more for his country by doing something else.
_____	_____	5.	Anyone who enlists in the service is foolish.

APPENDIX B

Table 12. Racial Comparison of Affirmative Responses to Five Questions Used as Items in the "Attitude Toward Military Service" Scale.

Item	Percent in Agreement		x^2	D.F.	P at .05 Level
	Negro	White			
1. "Every American Male should want to serve in the Military." [1]	69	68	.07	1	No
2. "Every able-bodied male should enlist if the country is fighting a war." [1]	57	70	4.16	1	Yes
3. "One should not complain if he is drafted." [1]	78	84	1.29	1	No
4. "One can do more for his country by doing something else." [2]	48	31	6.04	1	Yes
5. "Anyone who enlists in the service is foolish." [2]	18	7	6.47	1	Yes

[1] Positive responses were given a value of 1.

[2] Negative responses were given a value of 1.

APPENDIX B

Table 13. Summary of Results of Statistical Tests On Differences in Military Orientation Variables Existing Between Lower Class Youth With High Aspirations and Others.

A. Lower Class-High Aspirations vs. Lower Class-Low Aspirations (Table 8.).

Variables by Race	Test Value	d.f.	P
Percent Desire Military			
Negro	x^2=.01	1	P > .50
White	x^2=.008	1	P > .90
Percent Certain of Expectation			
Negro	x^2=.36	1	P > .50
White	x^2=1.19	1	.20< P < .30
Mean Attitude Score			
Negro	t =.073	59	P > .50
White	t =.169	25	P > .50

B. Lower Class-High Aspirations vs. Higher SES Groups (Table 10).

Variables by Race	Test Value	d.f.	P
Percent Desire Military			
Negro	x^2=.70	1	.30< P < .50
White	x^2=.07	1	P > .70
Percent Certain of Expectation			
Negro	x^2=2.45	1	.10< P < .20
White	x^2=.19	1	P > .50
Mean Attitude Score			
Negro	t =.166	52	P > .50
White	t =.056	105	P > .50

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APPENDIX B

Table 14. Military Orientations of Low Class Youth by Educational Aspiration Level and Race.

Education Aspiration Level	Number of Respondents		Percent Desiring Military Service		Attitude Toward Military (Mean Score)		Percent Certain of Military Expectation	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
High	39	11	77	63	3.6	4.5	55	18
Low	25	16	60	50	3.4	3.8	48	44

Table 15. Military Orientations of Lower Class-High Educational Aspiration Group Compared with Higher SES Groups.

Comparison Groups	Number of Respondents		Percent Desiring Military Service		Attitude Toward Military (Mean Score)		Percent Certain of Military Expectation	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Low SES - High Ed. Aspir.	39	11	77	63	3.6	3.9	55	18
Higher SES Groups	23	91	61	59	3.2	3.8	35	37